EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress

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Serial
Received
JAN 16 1943

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Washington, D. C.

Vol. 29, No. 1 JANUARY, 1943

Lucretia Mott

By LLOYD C. M. HARE

LUCRETIA (COFFIN) MOTT was born on the Island of Nantucket, Massachusetts, January 3, 1793. She was a direct descendant of Tristram Coffin, first Island chief magistrate or governor.

She was educated at a Quaker school in the State of New York where, at the age of eighteen years, she was made "assistant teacher on the girl's side."

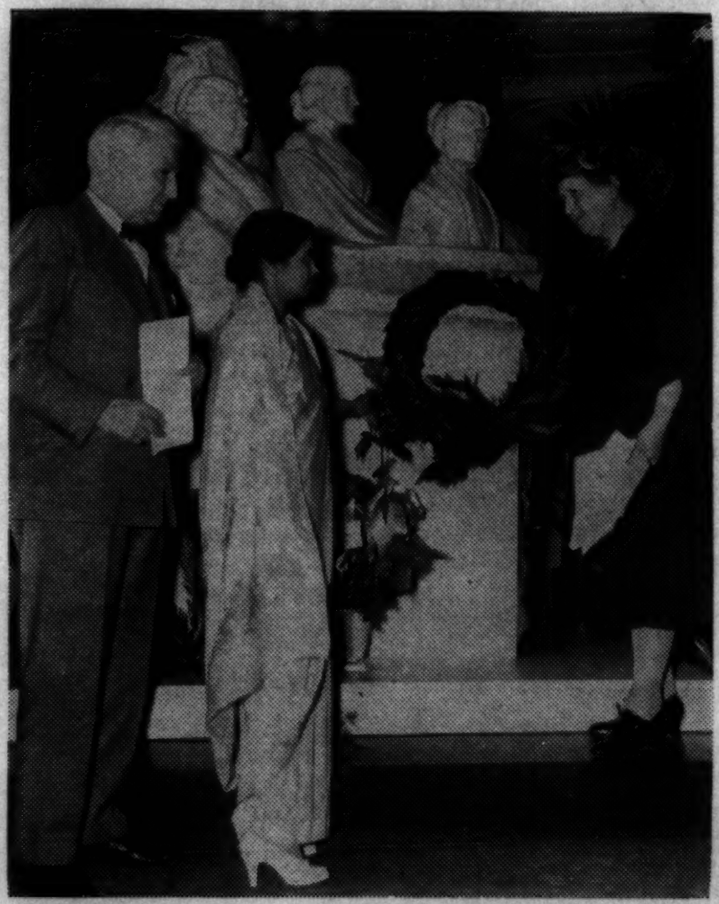
She was married, April 10, 1811, in the Pine Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, to James Mott. The union lasted nearly fifty-seven happy years. Mr. and Mrs. Mott had one son and four daughters who lived to maturity.

After the death of her infant son, Lucretia Mott became a preacher in the Quaker society. She adhered to broad, liberal principles of religion. This brought her into conflict with authorities of her own church and others of more orthodox persuasion. She once explained, "I desire to escape the narrow walls of a particular church, and to live with my own eyes, hearing with my own ears, and following truth meekly and resolutely, however arduous or solitary may be the path in which she leads." She added, "Our generation is trained to pay homage to ancient usage, rather than to truth, which is older than all."

While Lucretia Mott was a young woman the Quaker Society had an angry schism. In this controversy, Mrs. Mott took no very active part. After the reorganization of the Society of Friends into factions, she joined what she conceived to be the liberal wing, called "Hicksites," sometimes popularly known as "Unitarian Quakers." She became the Hicksites' most noted preacher.

At the historic anti-slavery convention of 1833, held in the city of Philadelphia, Lucretia Mott made her first apparance in the national anti-slavery drama, although not a delegate for the reason that it was not thought proper that a woman should participate in an open forum. Unable to find a prominent Philadelphian to lend his name as presiding officer, the small band of anti-slavery men were on the point of abandoning their plans for a convention when, from the gallery, "a youngishly middle-aged matron" arose from her seat and in a clear, sweet voice, the charm of which I have never forgotten," narrated the poet Whittier, reminded the discouraged men that "right principles are stronger than great names. If our principles are right," she urged, "why should we be cowards? Why should we wait for those who never have had the courage to maintain the inalienable rights of the slave?" She resumed her seat and picked up her knitting.

(Continued on Page 7)



HONOR WOMAN LEADER—*Pictured at a ceremony in the crypt of the Capitol January 2 on the anniversary of the birth of Lucretia Mott, pioneer woman suffragist, are (left to right) Senator Gillette, Democrat, of Iowa; Mme. Ram Mohan Rai of the All-Asian Conference of Women, and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, member of the council of the National Woman's Party.*—Courtesy of the Washington Star

Equal Rights

Official Organ
of the
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
Capitol Hill Washington, D. C.
Phone Atlantic 1210

Published Monthly at
144 B Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter at the post-office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription, $1.00 a Year
Foreign Subscription, $1.50

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Art. 1—Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Art. 2—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Present Status

House Joint Resolution No. 1 Introduced Jan. 6, 1943, in House of Representatives by Representative Ludlow (Ind.) with forty-two co-sponsors.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

The National Council of the N. W. P. consists of the Officers, past Chairmen, the Chairman of each of the State and Territory branches and the D. C., the Chairmen of the Occupational Councils and twenty Members at Large.

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Miss Doris Stevens, N. Y.
Mrs. Helen Hunt West, Fla.
Mrs. Anna Kelton Wiley, D. C.
Mrs. Lucy Rice Winkler, Cal.

(Note: The nine Members of the Executive Council are elected by the National Council from its membership, immediately following the Biennial Convention. Occupational Councils at present are: Government Workers, Industrial, Library and House.)

Meeting Of The National Council

A meeting of the National Council and Chairmen of National Committees has been called by Alice Paul, newly elected National Chairman, for January 20, 1943, at 2:30 p. m. at the National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

MARGARET H. SEBREE,
National Secretary.

"The peace, prosperity and perpetuity of the Republic rest on Equal Rights to all."

Introduction Of Equal Rights Amendment In House Of Representatives, January 6, 1943

ANNA KELTON WILEY

THE day dawned clear and fair, a propitious omen for the opening of the Seventy-eighth Congress, an important group of men and women, with so many vital decisions to make, matters of such moment to decide.

At the stroke of noon Mr. South Trimble, Clerk of the House of Representatives, called the House of Representatives to order and Representative Sam Rayburn was again elected as Speaker of the House. Shortly thereafter the committee appointed for that purpose escorted Mr. Rayburn to the Speaker's Chair and he took the oath of office. He then called upon the members of the new House to rise in a body and administered the oath to them en bloc, the members assenting with raised hands. To a spectator in the gallery the drama was full of thrill and excitement and although I have lived in Washington many years, this was the first time I had witnessed this impressive scene. Each member of the House of Representatives has only one special card of admission to this thrilling overture of the incoming Congress. Representative Ludlow's family most generously gave me their one ticket.

I watched with interest every event as it transpired and was deeply moved when Representative Louis Ludlow, of Indiana, arose in his place and made the following statement:

"Mr. Speaker, on this the opening day of the 78th Congress, I have introduced a resolution for an amendment to the Constitution which would provide that 'men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.'

"This is a very historic proposal, known sometimes as the 'Equal Rights Amendment' but more generally as the 'Lucretia Mott Amendment' in honor of the distinguished pioneer who did so much to pave the way for women's rights in America and throughout the world.

"This proposed constitutional amendment is offered as a corollary of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution which gave women a democratic instrument—the vote—by the effective use of which they may gain their rights, but it did not give them their rights.

"The Equal Rights Amendment, if adopted, would bring to full fruition the age-old struggle of women to attain the complete stature of position and influence to which they are entitled as creatures of God, under all of the canons of justice. It would do this by repealing in one swoop an almost infinite variety of state enactments and local ordinances that discriminate against women. It would truly place woman on a par with man and that is where she belongs.

"If women are good enough to serve as WAACS and WAVES and to render splendid service working in the defense plants of our country they are good enough to be entitled to enjoy equal rights with men under the laws of the land, and the refusal of that right is a stain on our flag.

"This resolution takes its honored place as House Joint Resolution No. 1 of the 78th Congress. Let us all, as friends of democracy no less that as friends of women, join together and pass this resolution at this session. To be allowed to participate in this great history-making achievement is not only a duty but an inestimable privilege."

(Continued on Page 7)

Lucretia Mott Sesquicentennial

By MAY FRANK RHOADS

"YOU made us all feel the spirit of Lucretia Mott as I have never felt it before. Her courage, her steadfastness and her devotion to truth I sensed, but you made her a real human being with a sense of humor and fun."

Anna Kelton Wiley, in this warm letter of gratitude, voiced the enthusiam of those who heard Jeannette Marks give "A Picture of Lucretia Mott" at the sesquicentennial celebration of the birth of the gentle Quaker who crusaded in the mid-century for her sex.

This celebration which was held in the Nation's Capitol, January 2, was lifted into real significance by the presence of representatives of over 50,000,000 women throughout the world who had been asked to take part in the ceremony by the World Woman's Party for Equal Rights and the National Woman's Party, under whose auspices it was held.

Members of seven international associations of women paid tributes to Lucretia Mott and adopted a resolution imbued with her spirit which is to be laid before the leaders of the United Nations.

The resolution reads: "This gathering, assembled in the crypt of the United States Capitol, before the statue of Lucretia Mott and the other pioneers of the Woman Movement, calls upon the Government of the United States and upon the leaders of the other allied nations to establish, without delay, for their own peoples a fifth freedom—freedom for women, as proclaimed in the Declaration drawn up by Lucretia Mott in 1848."

Alice Paul, Chairman of the World Woman's Party, said with regard to the action taken: "This is the first time that women's international groups have met together, anywhere in the world, to ask the United Nations for freedom for women."

The seven world women's groups which joined in the ceremony, the names of their representatives and excerpts from tributes given, follow:

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, Madame L. Dreyfus Barney (France and the U. S. A.), Member of the International Board: "Lucretia Mott and our leaders have always been spiritually as well as intellectually strong. Women of inner vision have realized that material civilization alone is not sufficient; and alas, we see that even science can be misused and turn the very heavens into hell.

"In placing these flowers in tribute from the International Council of Women to Lucretia Mott, I do so in the name of women such as Lady Aberdeen of Scotland, Frau Hainisch of Austria, Madame Avril de St. Croix of France, who have passed on, and also in the name of our valiant women of today, living in the midst of turmoil of war where they continue to safeguard the standard of freedom and of faith."

WORLD W. C. T. U. Message from Mrs. Ella Boole (U.S.A.), World President, read by Miss Elizabeth A. Smart, Executive Secretary of the United States section:

"Women of all lands owe a debt of gratitude to the pioneer leaders of the Woman Movement, especially those of the Nineteenth Century. . . .

"The years have shown that the ballot for women was not the end of their activities. It was one of the goals in the effort to secure for women the recognition of their right to equality in education, in entering the business world, the professions and political life. It has affected their standing in the home, it has broken down many barriers. . . ."

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS. Address of Doctor Lena Madesin Phillips, International President, read by Isabelle Claridge Taylor (England and the U. S. A.) International Treasurer. (For full text of Dr. Phillips' speech see page 6).

MEDICAL WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Doctor Catharine Macfarlane (U.S.A.) International Vice-President:

"Women physicians the world over owe a debt of gratitude to Lucretia Mott . . . In Philadelphia in 1850, she was one of a group of courageous souls who founded the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in order that women might be free to study medicine. The example set by this pioneer institution has been followed throughout the world. Today women are free to study medicine in every civilized country . . .

"We who have succeeded her must follow the trail that she blazed. We must remember her words when she said, 'If our principles are right, why should we be cowards.'"

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF SOROPTIMIST CLUB, Mrs. Caroline Stephen, former President of the Washington Club, whose grandmother was a delegate to the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention:

"The Soroptimists are all women in executive positions owning their own business. We feel that it is due to Lucretia Mott and the National Woman's Party, that we here in the United States have been able to attain the success we have achieved."

ALL ASIAN CONFERENCE OF WOMEN, Madame Ram Mohan Rai (Kashmir, India):

"What woman could be dearer to the heart of a Hindu than Lucretia Mott who said men and women are to be judged by their likeness to Christ rather than by their notions of Christ?

"If peace is the law of our being, the future is with women."

WORLD WOMAN'S PARTY FOR EQUAL RIGHTS, Mrs. Maria Heldring Bye (The Netherlands and U.S.A.) Honorary World Secretary:

"Having spent half my life in Europe, I feel that we should not forget the immense part women have played in the history of Europe . . .

"To end with my own country, Holland, the first forty years of the reign of Queen Wilhelmina will go down in history as one of the most prosperous periods our country ever enjoyed. . .

"This is a ceremony in commemoration of a simple Quakeress. She belonged to the only religious group, which from the very first has put women on an equality with men . . ."

Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, who presided at the ceremony, gave thumb nail biographies of each of the Congressmen who spoke under the title, "Carrying the Vision of Lucretia Mott into the Halls of Congress." About Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa, who is to introduce the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate, she said:

"Our next speaker is a man who has served his country in two wars; a man who has served both his state and his nation as a Senator; a man versed not only in the law, but in the ways of the farm; a man of experience, whose breadth of vision and warmth of nature endear him to all who come within the scope of his presence."

Of Representative Louis Ludlow, of Indiana, who, with U. S. Guyer of Kansas, is to introduce the Amendment in the House, Mrs. Wiley said:

"The next speaker is an old friend of the National Woman's Party. When the members of the National Woman's Party were going to prison to win the vote for women, this gentleman was a member of the Press Gallery. The self-forgetfulness of our women challenged his admiration and in 1932, at a hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, he became our banner bearer and has continued to be the introducer of the Equal Rights Amendment ever since, in eight successive Congresses. At that time he said that he believed that one day the Equal Rights Amendment would be a part of the Constitution."

Mrs. Wiley's introduction of Representative U. S. Guyer follows:

"The next speaker is a man of wide learning in the law, a judge, a former Mayor of Kansas City, and a member of the House of Representatives almost continuously since 1924. He is now the ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee."

The speeches of Senator Gillette and Representative Ludlow are printed on pages 4, 5. Mr. Guyer gave an in-

timate history of the struggle the Amendment had in the 77th Congress. He told how a favorable majority vote had been obtained in the House Judiciary Committee and how a technical obstruction at the last moment prevented it from being reported out. Mr. Guyer seemed confident that a favorable recommendation would be made in the next session.

In closing, Mrs. Wiley said:

"In reviewing the life of this pioneer woman, born 150 years ago, we have witnessed the rise of women—one of the great social movements of the nineteenth century. It has been a rehearsal of the evolution of the American woman, from the day when she was mortgaged, from birth to death, to housekeeping and child-bearing—to the present when her help is sought in every line of endeavor. It is a drama of great moment. The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, motivated by Lucretia Mott, set a milestone which dwarfed all other milestones on the road of woman's progress.

"This meeting today of men and women in the Crypt of the Nation's Capitol is a far cry from the effort to crush the woman's rights' movement in 1850 in the New York Tabernacle when mobs howled outside the convention doors, threw rocks through the windows, clambered down the aisles scattering vitriol in the audience and leaping onto the platform drowning out the voices of the speakers with shrieks and cries.

"In Galatians 4, v. 25-28 we read, 'For ye are all the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ'. . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond or free, *there is neither male nor female*, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'

"That is the ideal of our Christian Democracy, as believed by Lucretia Mott, the oneness of men and women in every sphere of endeavor. Let us go out from this place determined to bring this about."

Carrying The Vision Of Lucretia Mott Into The Halls Of Congress

By SENATOR GUY M. GILLETTE, of Iowa

Madam Chairman and Friends: Proceedings such as those in which we are now engaged have a distinct value, in that by our programs of music and address, we remind ourselves of the eminent service of the honoree—the vision, the ideals which animated her, and once more review the efforts, the disappointments, and the successes which she encountered in the struggle for realization of her hopes. But programs of this kind are useless and pointless unless they bring to the participants a confidence and conviction that we can carry the work of the one we now honor to the goal of ultimate success.

The fact that successors of Lucretia Mott in the work which she helped to initiate have not as yet attained the full measure of success should not discourage us, because with each succeeding disappointment in effort, we have found that, nevertheless, the women of America have been brought nearer and nearer to the consummation sought.

No one can study the course of public opinion on the question of equality for women before the law—from the time when advocates like Lucretia Mott were ridiculed, jeered, assaulted, and saw their right of public assembly denied, down through the ensuing years to the present time when the overwhelming body of public opinion is ready to grant the logic and rectitude of womanhood's demands—without knowing that final success is as sure as sunlight.

Will the Seventy-eighth Congress approve the proposal to adopt the necessary Amendment to the Constitution? No one can know, but there is ample ground for hope. During the Seventy-seventh Congress I have heard friends of the proposal in the membership of the Senate say time and again: "Surely the women are entitled to this action, but let them wait. We are engaged in winning a war; we have more important things to think of. Just let them be patient, and in due time we can take up their proposal." But the Nation and Congress did not wait to take steps for the mobilization of Womanhood in the homes, in the factories, in munition plants, in all types of defense activities, including the armed and uniformed services of our country. They did not wait to call upon the women of the Nation for complete unity of effort, in sacrifice and service.

So we shall introduce the proposed Amendment once more shortly after the new Congress convenes, and the following able and outstanding statesmen, members of the Senate, have offered their joint sponsorship of the proposal:

Senators Barbour of New Jersey; Capper of Kansas; Chavez of New Mexico; Guffey of Pennsylvania; Kilgore of West Virginia; Lucas of Illinois; Nye of North Dakota; Pepper of Florida; Radcliffe of Maryland; Thomas of Oklahoma; Thomas of Idaho; Tunnell of Delaware; Tydings of Maryland; Wheeler of Montana.

From this strong sponsorship, and with the loyal support of the statesmen from the House membership, joined with the loyal aid of you friends gathered here and the millions of others throughout the Nation who believe with us, we can justify our confidence of success. If we should fail, we can take it as we have in the past and continue the fight. But there is ample reason for full confidence that this time we will not fail.

Lucretia Mott Sesquicentennial

Other Details Of The Program

In the first place allow us to remind the unseen audience who read this magazine that the location of the marble busts of the three great pioneer women, in the Crypt of the Capitol, the Capital City of the United Nations, is most significant. Just in front of the statues is the white star which marks the first place chosen to hold the sacred remains of the great Washington, subsequently buried at Mount Vernon. Just overhead is the Statue of Liberty, soaring 258 feet above the place where the ceremony took place. Surely the heart of the Capitol of the Nation is a most fitting place to enshrine these three great women.

The artist who executed this splendid piece of sculpture is Mrs. Adelaide Johnson. Mrs. Johnson was a friend of the three Pioneer Women whose marble portraits she executed so skillfully. Mrs. Johnson maintained a studio in Rome for 25 years, and crossed the Atlantic more than thirty-six times. She is the only living link between those workers for the woman's cause who are triumphant and we crusaders here who are still militant.

The ceremony opened with selections by the Marine Band Orchestra, who have taken part for many years in our ceremonies in the Crypt, due to the generous collaboration of the Commandant of the Marine Corps, for so long General John A. LeJeune and now Major General Thomas Holcombe. The leader of the Marine Band is Major Wm. F. Santlemann, the second leader, who conducted the Orchestra, is Mr. Henry Weber. The Orchestra played "Extase," by Thome; "The March of the Women" and "Hands Across the Sea,' by John Philip Sousa.

A splendid quartette consisting of Fanny Shreve Heartsill, Marie Koontz, Francis P. Heartsill and Thomas Costagini, sang "Forward Out of Error, Forward Into Light."

As already mentioned above Jeannette Marks, Kennedy Professor Emeritus, of Mt. Holyoke, herself a Quaker, and the Chairman of the New York State Branch, came all the way from Northern New York to deliver as fine a tribute to a great woman as it is possible to imagine.

Miss Marks was followed as stated above by three Members of Congress. Then followed the tributes of seven world women's groups.

The Chairman then read a telegram from Grace Roe, from St. Petersburg, Fla., representing the British Branch of the World Woman's Party, as follows:

> "Lucretia Mott prepared the way for the enfranchisement of women. Much has been accomplished in freeing women from bondage. Much remains to be done. The new age cannot come until women have equal rights with men economically, politically, in national and international government councils. They must help shape policies now and have equal representation at the peace table for lasting peace."

Then came the reading of the Resolution given above.

After the closing remarks of the Chairman and a cordial expression of thanks to the Vice-President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House for permitting us to hold this ceremony in the Capitol Building in these acute times; to Mr. David Lynn, Architect of the Capitol, and Mr. Arthur E. Cook, Supervising Engineer, for their generous assistance; to Mrs. Maud Howell Smith, Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements; to Mrs. Robert Adamson, Chairman of the Committee on Pioneers of the Woman's Movement; and to Mrs. Humphrey E. Daniel, Chairman of the Committee on Commemorative Days; to the Speakers, to all the participants and to the splendid and attentive audience there gathered, the meeting closed and the military guard, on watch day and night, at our most precious shrine of liberty and freedom, took over.

Address By Representative Louis Ludlow Of Indiana At Lucretia Mott Sesquicentennial

Lucretia Mott was as truly a protagonist of human rights as Thomas Jefferson. She believed in all of the freedoms of the soul, for all men and all women. She did not subscribe to the perverted and ridiculous theory that freedom is a perquisite to be enjoyed only by the male of the species. The liberty for which she contended was universal freedom.

It has been ninety-four years since the world's first woman's right convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York. In looking over the records of the meeting we find that the Declaration of Rights adopted by that convention was patterned upon Jefferson's immortal Declaration of Independence. The doctrine of the freedoms of the soul burgeoned into full flower at that meeting. Lucretia Mott was one of the leading spirits at that gathering of pioneers in the cause of women. We find on the product of that convention, especially in its declaration of Rights, the indelible imprint of her strong and resourceful mind.

A century, lacking only six years, has elapsed since that history-making convention sounded the call to advance. In that time the cause of women has made momentous strides. With infinite travail, women have progressed upward, slowly but surely, toward emancipation. One by one, great bastions of prejudice and reaction have surrendered to the onward sweep. This movement, praise God, will not end until women have attained rights equal in every respect with men, in this great country of ours.

The most notable of the triumphs for women, a triumph which the political bosses and reactionaries had predicted would never come to pass, was the adoption of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, giving women the right to vote.

Nevertheless, that achievement, epochal and historic as it was, did not complete the emancipation of women. Significant as it was, that action did not equalize the constitutional status of women with men. It was only an important milestone on the road. It gave them a democratic instrument—the vote—by the effective use of which they might gain their rights, but it did not give them their rights. How far women still are from the goal of emancipation may be realized if we will look around us.

We preach democracy but there can be no genuine democracy when we have left intact over one thousand common-law discriminations against women and when the statute books of the states reek with such discriminatory enactments. In no state of this union does complete legal equality exist today for men and women. In every legislative session of every state, bills are constantly appearing that would impair the power of women to earn.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of this occasion to review these discriminations in any detail. They stand out as plainly as a flag on a pikestaff and he who runs may read and understand. They comprise a black record of oppression and injustice. Some states deny the right of women to serve as guardians. What is the justice of that? What is the sense of it? Who is better qualified to serve as guardian for a child than a competent woman with a mother's instinct and a mother's heart?

Burnita Shelton Matthews, an able Washington attorney, not long ago made a survey of discriminatory statutes and practices imposed by the states on women. The results were very revealing. It seems incomprehensible, but it is true, that women are excluded from jury service in twenty-two states. Now, as we all know, jury service is an important part of the administration of justice, and to say that women are not qualified for that service is a monstrous libel on women.

One state bars women from all high public offices. In another state the husband is allowed by statute to collect his wife's pay envelope. In another state no married woman, however intelligent, may freely carry on a business without a court inquiry into her competency. In two states when the husband and wife own common property, he is permitted to will away his one-half but the wife, if the husband lives, cannot leave a dollar of her half of this common property to any one—not even to her own children. In many states, divorce laws are unequal and discriminatory in favor of men. And so on, ad infinitum. Over the doors of the United States Supreme Court appears this legend:

"Equal Justice Under Law."

If a similar legend were placed over the doors of our state legislative assemblies it should be changed to read:

"Unequal Justice Under Law."

In many cases the excuse given for these discriminatory laws is lacking in candor. The pretense is that women, on account of the frailty of their sex, are entitled to the benefit of protective statutes, but it too often happens that women who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of these "protective" laws find themselves "protected" out of jobs. New York State furnishes an example of how this pseudo protection works. A law was passed forbidding women to work in soda fountains and ice cream parlors after 10 o'clock at night on the theory that such employment was inimical to their health. One woman, forty years old, who was supporting her children, made this complaint:

> "I have taken care of my family for ten years, mostly by working at night, and nobody ever thought of stopping me until some man discovered that the tips were larger after ten o'clock. Now I have to go home at 10 o'clock, but my little girl of thirteen can go to the soda fountain at any time and be waited on by any man."

There is only one approach by which woman can achieve her highest destiny as a co-equal with man and that is by the repeal of these innumerable discriminations, some of which have sprung from proper but mistaken motives though many more are malevolent and others are plain silly. That is by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. To undertake to bring about the repeal of these state enactments, which are almost as numerous as the sands of the sea, by other state enactments, would require generations of effort by women, if it could ever be done at all. Only a federal constitutional amendment will suffice to accomplish the purpose.

From out of the shadows of history, Lucretia Mott points the way. The answer to the problem is the proposed constitutional amendment which bears her honored name. It says:

> "Sec. 1. Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."
>
> "Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This amendment is vitally needed to complete our democracy and to bring our Constitution up to date. A growing realization that it is on the way to adoption and ratification stems from an approving public sentiment. This was evidenced in the expiring 77th Congress when the Amendment received a favorable committee report in the Senate and would have received one in the House except for a technicality.

May I say, with all humility, that I am proud to have my name associated with this Amendment, as it has been for many years. I believe the Amendment expresses the best American thought of today.

On the opening day of the 78th Congress the distinguished gentleman from Kansas, Mr. Guyer, and I will reintroduce the Amendment in the House. It will also be reintroduced in the Senate. The stage will then be set for action, which I sincerely hope this time will be decisive.

With women by the multiplied thousands serving our country in the military and naval forces and in the vitally important defense factories, surely the womanhood of America has richly earned the reward of being rescued from these unfair discriminations by the adoption of this Constitutional Amendment. Let us all, as friends of democracy no less than as friends of women, join together and pass the Lucretia Mott Amendment at the coming session of Congress. To be allowed to participate in this great history making achievement is not only a duty but an inestimable privilege.

Excerpt From "I Came Out Of The Eighteenth Century"

By JOHN A. RICE

America may yet be made by its women, when once we have finally freed ourselves from Europe and found what we mean by equality. For, without design, America is in the midst of the greatest experiment yet undertaken, the experiment—experience rather—that will put woman in her place, by the side of man as an equal.

Men are poets, women are scientists. But women are poets, too. They create, but they know, as men do not, the limits of creation. They work, as men will not, within the context of nature. It is no accident that pragmatism was started first in America. The humanists, being men, have made a mess of things. The scientists, being men, have made a greater mess. It is time now for the scientific poet, the poetic scientist. It is time for the woman.

(*Editor's Note:* Mr. Rice is a well-known college professor, lecturer, and writer. His book, *"I Came Out Of The Eighteenth Century,"* was given one of Harpers 125th anniversary prizes.)

Address Of Dr. Lena Madesin Phillips

President of International Federation of Business and Professional Women, given at Celebration of 150th Anniversary of the birth of Lucretia Mott, The Capitol, Washington, D. C., Saturday, January 2, 1943.

IT WOULD be hard to imagine one who would care less for tribute and praise in times like these, or at any time, than Lucretia Mott. She was a gentle Quaker seeking nothing for herself. But America and the promise which is America now face a struggle for survival. And happily we may find wisdom and strength for these vital issues in the remembrance of the convictions and life of this courageous pioneer.

A century ago Lucretia Mott was fighting for freedom. In 1838 while the mob was burning a building "dedicated to liberty," Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia, because she and other women had held an Anti-Slavery Convention there and had spoken for the abolition of slavery, she sat quietly at home with her husband where the mob was expected next. At the convention she had said "that Americans must set the wrong of slavery right before they could press on to the good life that was before them; that America had made a promise that all people should come into the possession of their inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." A friend was begging her to flee for safety. But her husband said she was free to do as she thought best. "I am not free to tolerate injustice," she replied. "I am not free unless my neighbor is free."

That I believe was the key-stone of her life, a selfless, determined passion for freedom and justice and thus the good of mankind. What could have been more in essence the promise of America? What in fact more modern, expressing as it did the best impulse of today?

She cared profoundly for the freedom and development of her sex. At the first Woman's Rights Convention held in 1848 at Seneca Falls it was she who offered the resolution stating that the speedy success of the cause depended "upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women . . . for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerces."

Ninety-five years have passed since she spoke these words. The typewriter, the telephone, the talking machine, the automobile, airplane and radio came to change and bless American life. But the equality of status, the human justice for which she pleaded, have not come. There have been gains of course, inequalities lopped off here and there, discriminatory laws repealed in some states. But the tap-root which is the law established in far distant days, sprung from a very different way of life and often nourished now by selfish interests, has not been cut. We have not destroyed those stories of the thousands of unjust and conflicting discriminations. We have not made effective the American principle which was the very life of Lucretia Mott. A shift in function due to events has changed women's work and increased her responsibilities. She must participate now in a very new way of life. But with many of the old chains still dragging.

I believe that the Equal Rights Amendment, so fittingly called the Lucretia Mott Amendment, will cut that tap-root and destroy those chains. "Men and women shall have Equal Rights," it reads, "throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." We believe that no one who now claims or extols freedom and democracy should refuse these to the women of America.

Some say women need the so-called "protective legislation," against long hours, night work, occupational hazards. What women? Does it protect housewives and house-workers against long hours? Or nurses, war workers and office cleaners against night work? Or one whose hand is deft and whose life expectancy exceeds her brother's against the average strain of the machine? Or is it not rather that woman is thus "protected" against the better job and in times of unemployment any job?

Some will say that this is no time to press such a matter since the country is at war. At war for what? For freedom and justice, for democracy. Surely we will not refuse to our own that which we purchase for strangers with the blood of our sons.

We who can say with Lucretia Mott, "I am not free to tolerate injustice," do well to seek courage and strength in memories of her life. For the way was not easy then as it will not be easy now. These who a century ago sought equal status for women faced and bore all indignities from jail to bad eggs, from vilifications to ostracism. They endured courageously because they believed and cared. We should be proud to bear our later share of criticism and misunderstanding.

For we work and endure not alone for the women of our own nation. As President of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women I know how eagerly in happier days the women of Europe and throughout the world have desired and followed the leadership of American women. "Show us the way and give us the inspiration of example," they said. Now in the darkness and despair which is the lot of so many of them, it is necessary as never before that the women of America be strong and wise—and free.

Of all the pen pictures of Lucretia Mott I like best that of her as the Quaker preacher who having finished her sermon, "would walk down from the platform, through the aisle and out of the door still preaching while her audience in tears called good-byes to her." She talked and walked in what she considered God's way. And that I am sure was to her, as to me, the way of freedom and justice for all, men—and women.

And so we pause here to honor the memory of Lucretia Mott who said, "I never look back to the past as the Golden Age for women but always forward to it as coming." To us remains her unfinished task. Let us do it gladly and well.

Endorses The Equal Rights Amendment

H. L. Richards, Second Lieutenant, Q. M. C., Army Air Forces Advanced Flying School, Craig Field, Selma, Ala.

"The need to recognize women's place in our democracy is of supreme importance to this country. I should like to point to the fact that today, as never before, women are being called upon to assume increasing responsibilities and obligations in the prosecution of the war; a war which is being fought to preserve such democratic principles as Liberty, Freedom, Equality, and Justice for all the peoples of the world. We cannot consistently fight for those ideals and deny them to our own women. This association, charged with the responsibility of adequately teaching these principles to the youth of America should demonstrate their faith in them by unanimously endorsing the Resolution which is now before you."

(*Note:* The above statement is quoted from the talk which Lieutenant Richards of Illinois, had prepared to endorse the Equal Rights Resolution at the General Assembly of the National Education Association in Denver, Colorado, July 2, 1942.)

Lucretia Mott

(Continued from Page 1)

Lucretia Mott helped organize the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and was president during most of the society's existence.

The appearance of Lucretia Mott and other women on reform platforms aroused strenous objections to women who "unsexed themselves by public participation in controversial causes."

Southerners who heard garbled reports of Mrs. Mott's abolition speeches regarded her as "the modern Borgia, the planner of wars and murders." Surprised was the gentleman who saw her for the first time and ejaculated, "Why, she looks like a saint."

At the age of forty-seven, Lucretia Mott was elected a delegate by the American Anti-Slavery Society to attend a proposed world anti-slavery convention to be held in the city of London. Here, June 1840, she was denied a seat in the convention because of sex and here, it may be said, was planted the first seed of the woman's rights movement.

At this convention, Lucretia Mott first met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her coadjutor in the founding of the woman's rights movement.

Although denied participation in the London anti-slavery convention, a reporter described Mrs. Mott as "the *lioness* of the Convention." Continued he, "This lady has the enviable celebrity of being one of the most undaunted, consistent, able and indefatigable friends of the slave, being paramount even amongst the female Abolitionists of America."

Lucretia Mott became interested in temperance, cooperative trade unions, the education of girls, the establishment of a female medical school, and advocated the unpopular cause of broader grounds of divorce as a protection to wives.

Her primary interest continued to be Abolitionism. Because she would not promise to mention the anti-slavery issue that was rocking the nation she was denied the right to deliver a lecture in the hall of Congress at Washington, D. C.

The year 1848 is a landmark in American history. In that year, a small group of women including Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, met in the parlor of a private home in up-state New York, and planned to overturn society. *"The woman's movement was launched in a cup of tea."*

The result was the world's *first* woman's rights convention, held shortly after in Seneca Falls, New York, *July 19-20, 1848*, where a Declaration of Rights was signed, patterned upon Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.

The first definite effort to crush the woman's rights movement by mob force took place at a series of woman's meetings held at the Tabernacle, New York City, presided over by Lucretia Mott. Riots became a common occurrence. Mobs howled outside convention doors, threw rocks through windows, hooted and yelled, clamored down aisles scattering vitriol in the audience, and leaped onto platforms drowning the speakers with shrieks and cries. John Brown claimed that once he set himself to oppose a mob at Boston where Lucretia Mott was. Said he, "After I had interfered, the police immediately took up the matter, and soon put a stop to mob proceedings."

Ridiculed, scorned, and shunned, Lucretia Mott calmly went about the country, presiding at many conventions. The Syracuse "Standard" reported: "It was a singular spectacle to see this gray-haired matron presiding over a convention with an ease, dignity, and grace that might be envied by the most experienced legislator in the country."

Following the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Abolitionists established a network of routes of travel through the free states to Canada over which escaped slaves were hurried from one town or farmhouse to another by wagon, horse, or afoot, in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act. This network of routes became known as the Underground Railroad. The Mott residence in Philadelphia was a prominent "station," and Mr. and Mrs. Mott were "conductors." They helped many slaves to freedom.

After 1857, the Motts moved to a home called Roadside, outside of Philadelphia, on the Old York Road.

Here in the autumn of 1859, Mrs. John Brown sought haven after the raid on Harper's Ferry.

The Civil War was a "cross" to Lucretia Mott. A conscientious "non-resistant" she remained true to the principles of pacifism throughout four years of carnage.

Lucretia Mott protested the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that granted suffrage to the male negro while it denied the ballot to *white women.*

She was elected first president of the American Equal Rights Association which had for its stated purpose equal suffrage for men and women.

During her aged years—her seventies and eighties—Lucretia Mott continued active in reform movements. She was president of the Pennsylvania Peace Society, in which she took great interest. She advocated the settlement of differences between nations by an international court. A few months before death she attended a peace meeting.

Lucretia Mott died November 11, 1880, at the age of nearly 88 years. She was buried in the Friends' burying ground at Fair Hill on the Germantown Road, outside of Philadelphia.

Before death she commanded her family; "Remember that my life has been a simple one; let simplicity mark the last done for me."

The character of Lucretia Mott may be summarized in seven words—the sentiment she loved so well and repeated so often:

"TRUTH FOR AUTHORITY, Not Authority for Truth."

Introduction Of Equal Rights Amendment

(Continued from Page 2)

Mr. Ludlow then read the names of the Members of Congress who are acting as co-sponsors with him and his colleague Representative U. S. Guyer of Kansas, in the introduction of the equal rights amendment: Homer D. **Angell** (R.) Oregon; H. Street T. **Baldwin** (D.) Md.; Frank A. **Barrett** (R.) Wyo.; George H. **Bender** (R.) Ohio; J. Glen **Beall** (R.) Md.; Fred **Bradley** (R.) Mich.; Joseph R. **Bryson** (D.) S. Car.; Usher L. **Burdick** (R.) N. Dak.; Wm. T. **Byrne** (D.) New York; Pat **Cannon** (D.) Fla.; Paul **Cunningham** (R.) Iowa.; Thomas **D'Alesandro, Jr.** (D.) Md.; Daniel **Ellison** (R.) Md.; John W. **Flannagan, Jr.** (D.) Virginia; Bertrand W. **Gearhart** (R.) Calif.; George W. **Gillie** (R.) Ind.; Richard F. **Harless** (R.) Ariz.; Fred A. **Hartley, Jr.** (R.) New Jersey; Joe **Hendricks** (D.) Fla.; J. Leroy **Johnson** (R.) Calif.; Bartel J. **Jonkman** (R.) Mich.; James P. **McGranery** (D.) Pa.; James W. **Mott** (R.) Oregon; John R. **Murdock,** (D.) Ariz.; Francis J. **Meyers** (D.) Pa.; Donald L. **O'Toole** (D.) New York; J. Hardin **Peterson** (D.) Fla.; Walter C. **Ploeser,** (R.) Mo.; Charles A. **Plumley** (R.) Vermont; Emory H. **Price** (D.) Fla.; Thomas E. **Scanlon** (D.) Pa.; Paul W. **Shafer** (R.) Mich.; John Edward **Sheridan** (D.) Pa.; Robert L. F. **Sikes** (D.) Fla.; Wm. I. **Troutman** (R.) Pa.; Jerry **Voorhis** (D.) Calif.; Zebulon **Weaver** (D.) N. Car.; Samuel A. **Weiss** (D.) Pa.; Earl **Wilson** (R.) Ind.; Roy O. **Woodruff** (R.) Mich.; James A. **Wright** (D.) Pa.

So once again the Lucretia Mott Amendment is before our national law-makers, but this time with more than a possibility of success.

As one sign of the times—the times which will see the erasing of ancient injustices to women—the number of Representatives who have given their names as co-sponsors of the Equal Rights Amendment to our staunch friends, Representatives Louis Ludlow and U. S. Guyer, on this opening day of the 78th Congress is most significant.

There are forty-three advocates, from both parties and from twenty states. This has an important meaning. When so many key men from states in every section of the land come out as working sympathizers with our movement it shows that a momentous change has come to the attitude heretofore held toward woman's place in the world.

On January 15th, Senator Guy M. Gillette, of Iowa, will introduce the amendment in the Senate. That event and the names of the sponsors in the Senate will be given in the next issue of this magazine.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

The Blindness Of The Exceptional Woman

I am not interested in equal rights for women. I am no feminist. There are bigger issues at stake." This in substance is what many of our prominent women are cautiously saying to the press, as if equal rights for women were something to be ashamed of and as if the word "feminist" had a derogatory meaning.

What would we think of a Chinese who said, "I am not interested in equal rights for the Chinese"; or a Negro, not interested in equal rights for Negroes? We would at once line them up as lacking spirit and self-respect, and think they must be inferiors after all. But when a woman makes such a statement, countless other women, instead of being indignant, regard her with admiration because she is not one of those "awful feminists."

And actually what is a feminist? *Not* what one of our women scholars recently called her—a woman who wants to "ape men or oust them." Feminism, according to Webster is:

> "The theory, cult, or practice of those who advocate such legal and social changes as will establish political, economic, and social equality of the sexes."

Nothing very bad about that. In fact, self-respect, pride in the achievements of women, spirit, and love of freedom demand that every woman be a feminist. It is this definition of feminism, the true definition, that inspired the title of this column. *A Feminist Thinks It Over.*

Why is it that women are still afraid of the words freedom and equality when applied to them? Why are they still so eager to hide from the term *equal rights?* Why do they think that other freedoms and other rights are more important than their own?

These are questions hard to answer. The exceptional woman is the worst offender because she of all women should know better. The exceptional, brilliant woman, busy in her own field, overlooks the fact that the average woman has been progressing through the years and is able to cope with national and international problems as well as with domestic concerns. She overlooks the fact that the average woman in 150 years has progressed from an uneducated, chattel class through a bloodless revolution to a voting, educated citizenship and has contributed mightily to the cultural, business, and professional life of our nation. To her the average woman is still in the primary grade. Perhaps she refuses to face facts because she does not want to lose her own role as a brilliant heroine.

Whatever the reason, it is time for exceptional women to analyze their aversion to equal rights and to ask themselves if they are able to understand and appreciate the principles of freedom on which this nation was built. If they believe in democratic government, they must admit that all the people, women as well as men, must share its reponsibilities and receive equal justice under its laws.

The struggle for freedom for women, for a Bill of Rights, an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing to women justice and equal rights with men under our laws, is as noble a goal as the framing of the Magna Charta or the Declaration of Independence.

Florence Bayard Hilles Library

MARY ELIZABETH DOWNEY, *Librarian*

The National Woman's Party Calendar-Program suggests a Susan B. Anthony Birthday celebration on February 15, 1943. Consult local libraries for encyclopedia and periodical material and whatever books they may have. In addition to Stanton, Anthony and Gage, "History of Woman Suffrage," the following lives are good: Dorr, Rheta Childe, "Susan B. Anthony, The Woman Who Changed The Mind Of A Nation"; Harper, Ida Husted, "Life And Work Of Susan B. Anthony"; Paul Nanette B., "The Great Woman Statesman."

Apropos of our subject was the visit of Miss Helen Adele Miller, a graduate student at Syracuse University, to the Florence Bayard Hilles Library seeking material on the early life of Susan B. Anthony and especially from the time she entered the woman suffrage movement. Miss Miller was most enthusiastic over the course being given there this year on "The Status And Responsibility Of Women In The Modern World." Miss M. Eunice Hilton, Dean of Women, is in charge of the course, being given by some six or seven women of the faculty. Sixty students are attending the course.

While such a course still may be considered an innovation, we are reminded of those given at Goucher College, Baltimore, under Doctor Mary Wilhelmina Williams; at Russell Sage College, New York, and the series of lectures at the American University Graduate School, Washington, D. C., two years ago. A series of lectures relative to women was also given at Alva Belmont House at that time, which was well attended.

These courses and lectures are very significant and it does not require a prophet to foresee the time when every progressive woman's college and advanced co-educational school will have them in the curriculum.

If any of our readers know of other schools than those mentioned giving them we would appreciate being advised as we are anxious to add copies of their outlines, syllabi and bibliographies to the library.

We suggest that those on boards of trustees, or curriculum committees see that this course is added to the curriculum wherever they have power or influence to do so.

We all can appreciate the educational value of this teaching and study in awakening interest in the woman movement and especially in the great work to be done in ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment following its passage by Congress.

While getting the Amendment through Congress seems to be the paramount issue at present, the educational work throughout the States surely is no less important. More and more such school courses should be stimulated, study groups organized, reading inspired, lectures and radio talks given. Let us all get busy—everywhere!

THE IMMORTALITY OF EFFORT

"Such men fight the campaigns of the future while all the world around them is asleep, but when the time comes at last, though they themselves be gone, the roads they planned are broad and straight for the march of other feet; the sword they forged lies ready for another hand; the spirit they called up still lives to lead and they, themselves, wherever they may be, in their well earned rest, have a continuing share in the victories that humanize and immortalize mankind."

(Said of Pope Leo XIII by F. Marion Crawford, American Minister to Italy, but the words are just as appropriate applied to the work of Lucretia Mott.)